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SOME
HINTS

To prevent the Choice of
Improper Members
TO
SERVE in PARLIAMENT.

By a NOBLEMAN.



L O N D O N :

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To the READER.

THE REPRESENTATION
of a BRITISH PEOPLE
was thought of such Importance by the Editor, that he could not help throwing in his Mite, by the Publication of the following Tract: And if any Thing there said shall prove of Use, he will rejoice; if not, the Satisfaction of intending well, will compensate for the Trouble he has himself taken, and he hopes will be a sufficient Apology for that he has given the Public.

VALE.

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VALL.

H I N T S

To avoid chusing

Improper Members

T O

SERVE in PARLIAMENT.

I Shall make no other Preface than,
That it is hoped the Electors will re-
member in general, That besides other
Consequences, they will have the Credit
of a good Choice, or the Scandal that be-
longs to an ill one.

The Electors will be thought like the
Elected; and therefore an ill Choice will
either be a Disparagement of their Under-
standing, or their Morals.

B

In

In short, those that send up their Representatives to *Westminster*, should take care they may be such as will do them Right, and their Country Honour.

Now to the Particulars:

I. A very extraordinary Earnestness to be chosen, is no very good Symptom: A Desire to serve the Nation in Parliament, is an *English* Man's Ambition: always to be encouraged, and never to be disapproved.

A Man may not only be willing to stand, but he may declare that Willingness to his Friends, that they may assist him, and by all the Means becoming a modest and prudent Man, he may endeavour to succeed, and prevent the being disappointed in it.

But there is a wide Difference between this, and the raising a kind of petty War in the County or Corporation; entering the Lists rather for a Combat than an Election;

lection; throwing Fire-balls to put Men into Heats, and omitting to spread no Reports, whether true or false, which may give an Advantage by laying a Blemish upon a Competitor.

These Methods will ever be suspicious; it will never be thought a natural Thing for Men to take such extravagant Pains for the mere sake of doing good to others.

To be content to suffer something for a good End, is that which many would do without any great Repugnance: But where a Man can honestly propose nothing to himself, except Troubles, Charge, and Loss, by Absence from his own Affairs, to be so violent in the Pursuit of so ill a Bargain, is not at all suited to the languishing Virtue of Mankind so corrupted.

Such a Self-denying Zeal in such a Self-seeking Age, is so little to be imagined, that it may without Injury be suspected.

Therefore when these blustering Pretenders come upon the Stage, their natural Temper and other Circumstances ought

to be very well considered, before Men trust them with the Disposal of their Money or their Liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one single Man whose other Qualifications would overbalance the Objections that lie against such important Suitors.

II. Recommending Letters ought to have no Effect upon Elections.

In this I must distinguish; for tho' in Strictness, perhaps there should be no Exception; yet in Compliance with long Practice, and out of an Indulgence that is necessary in a Time when Mankind is too much loosened from severe Rules, to be kept close up to them, Letters sent only to equal Men, doing Good Men right, by giving Evidence in their Behalf, offering them as fully qualified, when they really are so, and freeing them from unjust Aspersions, may be still allowed.

The

The Letters I mean, are from Men of Power, where it may be beneficial to Comply, and inconvenient to Oppose. Choice must not only be free from Force, but from Influence; which is a Degree of Force. There must be no Difficulty, no Apprehension that a Refusal will be ill taken or resented.

The *Free-holders* must be *Free-men* too; they are to have no shackles upon their Votes in an Election; and the Men who stand, should carry their own Letters of Recommendation about them, which are their good Character and Behaviour in the World, without borrowing Evidence, especially when it comes from suspected Hands.

Those who make use of these Epistles, ought to have no more Advantage from them than the *Muscovites* have from the Letter put into their Hands when they are buried, to recommend them to St. *Nicolas*.
Men

Men must be fallen very low in their Credit, who upon such an Occasion have a Recourse to Power to support it: Their Enemies could not give stronger Evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the Electors judge otherwise, they will be pretty sure in a little Time to see their Mistake, and to repent it.

III. Non-Attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a Bar against the Choice of Men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worst Kinds of Non-Residence, and the least to be excused: It is very hard that Men should despise a Duty, which perhaps is the only Ground of the Respect that is paid to them.

It is such a Piece of Sawciness for any one to press for the Honour of Serving in Parliament, and then to be careless in attending it, that in a House where there were so many Officers, the Penalty had not

not been improper to have cashier'd them for not appearing at the General Muster.

If Men forbear to come out of Laziness, let them be gratified by taking their Ease at Home without Interruption: If out of small Cunning, to avoid Difficulties, and to escape from the Inconvenience of voting in critical Cases, let them enjoy that despicable Pitch of Wisdom, and never pretend to make a Figure where the Public is to be served.

If it would not be thought advisable to trust a Man immediately after he hath been drawn out of Goal, it may be as reasonable to look upon one, who for his Non-Attendance in the House hath been sent for in Custody, as a Kind of Bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal Terms with those who have been assiduous in the Discharge of their Duty.

They who thought fit in one Session to neglect the Public Business, may be justly suspected by their standing in the next, to intend their own.

not been proper to have called them
: Besides these more deliberate Offenders,
there are some who do not attend even
when they are in the House; absent in
their Thoughts for want of comprehend-
ing the Business that is doing, and there-
fore diverted from it by any Thing that is
trivial.

Such Men are Nuisances to a serious
Assembly; and when they are numerous,
it amounteth almost to a Dissolution, it be-
ing scarce possible for good Sense to be
heard, whilst the Noise is made by the
Buzzing of these Horse-flies.

The Roman Censors who degraded a Sen-
ator for yawning whilst there was a De-
bate, would have much more abundant
Matter here, upon which they might ex-
ercise their Jurisdiction.

To conclude this Head, there are so few
that ever mended in these Cases, that after
the first Experiment it is not all reasonable
to take them upon a new Tryal.

IV. Men who are unquiet and busy in their Natures, are to give more than ordinary Proofs of their Integrity, before the electing them into a Public Trust can be justified. As a hot Summer breedeth greater Swarms of Flies, so an active Time breedeth a greater Number of these shining Gentlemen.

It is pretty sure, that Men who cannot allow themselves to be at rest, will let no Body else be at quiet. Such a perpetual Activity is apt by Degrees to be applied to the Pursuit of their private Interest. And their Thoughts being in a continual Motion, they have not Time to dwell long enough upon any thing to entertain a Scruple.

So that they are generally at full Liberty to do what is most convenient for them, without being fettered by any Restraints.

Nay further, whenever it happeneth that there is an Impunity for Cheating, these nimble Gentlemen are apt to think it a Disparagement to their Understanding not to go into it.

I doubt it is not a Wrong to the present Age, to say, that a Knave is a less unpopular Calling than it hath been in former Times. And to say Truth, it would be Ingratitude in some Men to turn honest, when they owe all they have to their Knavery.

The People are in this respect unhappy ; they are too many to do their own Business ; their Numbers, which make their Strength, are at the same time the Cause of their Weakness ; they are too unwieldy to move ; and for this Reason nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable Impotency : So that they must have Solicitors to pursue and look after their Interests ; who are too often disposed to dispense with the Fidelity they owe to those that trust them ; especially if the G——t will pay their Bills without Abatement.

It is better these Gentlemens Dexterity should be employed any where than in Parliament, where the ill Consequence of their being Members is too much diffused, and not restrained to the County or Borough

rough who shall be so unwary as to chuse them.

V. Great Drinkers are less fit to serve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Mens Virtue, as well as their Understanding, are apt to be tainted by it.

The Appearance of it is sociable and well-natur'd, but it is by no means to be relied upon.

Nothing is more frail than a Man too far engaged in wet Popularity.

The Habit of it maketh Men careless of their Business, and that naturally leadeth them into Circumstances, that make them liable to Temptation.

It is seldom seen, that any Principles have such a Root, as that they can be Proof against the continual Droppings of a Bottle.

As to the Faculties of the Mind, there is

not less Objection; the Vapours of Wine may sometimes throw out Sparks of Wit, but they are like scattered Pieces of Ore, there is no Vein to work upon.

Such Wit, even the best of it, is like paying great Fines; in which Case there must of Necessity be an Abatement of the constant Rent.

Nothing sure is a greater Enemy to the Brain, than too much Moisture; it can the least of any thing bear the being continually steeped: And it may be said, that Thought may be resembled to some Creatures which can live only in a dry Country.

Yet so arrogant are some Men as to think they are so much Masters of Business, as that they can play with it: They imagine they can drown their Reason once a Day, and that it shall not be the worse for it: forgetting, that by too often dividing, the Understanding at last groweth too weak to rise up again.

I will suppose this Fault was less frequent when Solon made it one of his Laws,
That

That it was lawful to kill a Magistrate if he was found drunk. Such a Liberty taken in this Age, either in the Parliament, or out of it, would do terrible Execution.

I cannot but mention a Petition in the Year 1647, from the County of *Devon*, to the House of Commons, against the undue Election of *Burgesses*, who are strong in *Wine*, and weak in *Wisdom*.

The Cause of such Petitions is to be prevented by chusing such as shall not give handle for them.

VI. Wanting Men give such Cause of Suspicion where-ever they deal, that surely Chusers will be upon their Guard, as often as such dangerous Pretenders make their Application to them.

Let the Behaviour of such Men be never so plausible and untainted, yet they who are pitch upon those they are to trust with all they have, may be excused, if they do not only consider what they are, but what they may be.

As

As we pray ourselves we may not be led into Temptation, we ought not by any Means to thrust others into it, even though our own Interest was not concerned; and sure when it is, the Argument hath no less Force.

If a Man hath a small Estate, and a numerous Family, where it happeneth that a Man hath as many Children as he hath Tenants, it is not a recommending Circumstance for his Election.

When it cometh to be the Question with such a Man, whether he shall be Just to the Public, or Cruel to his Family, it is very possible the Decision may be on the Side of corrupted Nature.

It is a Compliment to this Age, which it doth not deserve, to suppose Men are so tied up to Morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it; especially now when it is called Starving, not to be embroidered, or served in Plate.

The Men chosen to serve their Country, should not be laden with Suits that may tempt

tempt them to assume Privileges ; much less under such Necessities, as may more immediately prepare them for Corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular Interest, have more Reason to offer their Service than others have to accept of it. And though I do not doubt, but there may be some whose Virtue would triumph over their Wants, let them be never so pressing ; yet to expose the Public to the Hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be justified by those that chuse. And tho' it must be allowed possible for a wanting Man to be honest, yet it is impossible for a Man to be wise that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a Sort of Men that have a Tinsel-Wit, which makes them shine among those who cannot judge.

Club and Coffee-house Gentlemen, petty Merchants of small Conceits, who have an empty Habit of prating without Meaning : They always aim at Wit, and generally make false Fire.

Their

Their Business is less to learn, than to set themselves out; which makes them chuse to be with such as can only be Witnesses of their small Ingenuity, rather than with such as might improve it.

There is a subordinate Wit as much inferior to a Wit of Business, as a Fidler at a Wake is to the lofty Sound of an Organ.

Men of this Size are in no Degree suited to the Business of redressing Grievances, and making Laws.

There is a Parliament-Wit to be distinguished from all other Kinds: Those who have it do not stuff their Heads only with Cavils and Objections.

They have a deliberate and an observing Wit; a Head turned to public Things; Men who place a greater Pleasure in mending a Fault, than in finding it out.

Their Understanding directeth them to object in the right Place; and not like those who go by no other Rule than to conclude, that

that must be the best Counsel which was not taken.

These Wholesale Judges shew such a gross and peevish Ignorance, that appeareth so openly in all they say or do, that they give loud Warning to all considering Men not to chuse them.

VIII. The Dislike of slight airy Men must not go so far as to recommend Heaviness in Opposition to it, especially where Men are convicted of it by Experience in former Sessions.

As a lively Coxcomb will seldom fail to lay in his Claim for Wit; so a Blockhead is apt to pretend, that his Heaviness is a Proof of his Judgment.

Some have an universal Lethargy spread upon their Understanding, without Exception; others have an Insufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in some Cases Men have *quoad hanc*: These last can never so turn their Thoughts to public Business, as to give the Attention that is necessary to comprehend it.

D

There

There are those who have such a thick Shell upon their Brains, that their Ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh such a stout Resistance against common Sense, that it will never be subdued by it: True Heart-of-Oak Ignorance, that will never yield, let Reason beat never so hard upon it; and tho' their kind Neighbours have at several Elections sent them up to School again, they have still returned the same incurable Dunces.

There is a false Gravity that is a very ill Symptom; and it may be said, that as Rivers, which run very slowly, have always the most Mud at the Bottom; so a solid Stiffness in the constant Course of a Man's Life, is a Sign of a thick Bed of Mud at the Bottom of his Brain.

A dull Man is so near a dead Man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the List of the Living; and as he is not to be buried whilst he is half alive, so he is as little to be employed whilst he is half dead.

Parliaments are now grown to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In ancient Times they were little more than great Assizes; a Roll of Grievances; *Magna Charta* confirmed; Privileges of Holy Church preserved; so many Sacks of Wool given, and away.

Now there are Traps and Gins laid for the well-meaning Country-Gentlemen; he is to grapple with the Cunning of Men in Town, which is not a little improv'd by being rewarded and encouraged.

So that Men, whose good Intentions are not seconded and supported by some Degree of Ability, are as much the more dangerous, as they are less criminal than cunning Knaves. Their honest Mistakes, for want of distinguishing, either give a Countenance to, or at least lessen the Scandal of the injurious Things that are done to the Public; and with Leave asked for so odd an Expression, their innocent Guilt is as mischievous to the Laws and Liber-

ties, as the most deliberate Malice of those that would destroy them.

IX. There is an Abuse, which daily increaseth, of sending such to Parliament, as are scarce old enough to be sent to the University.

I would not in this restrain the Definition of these Boys to the Age of twenty-one: if my Opinion might take place, I should wish that none might be chosen into the House of Commons under the Age of Thirty; and to make some Equality, I should, from the same Motives think it convenient, that no Lord should have a vote in Judicature under that Age.

But to leave this Digression; I cannot see why the Chusers should not at least make it a Rule among themselves, not to send any Man to represent them under the Age of twenty-five, which is the time of Majority in most other Places of the World.

Surely

Surely it is not that we are earlier Plants than our Neighbours.

Such Supposition could neither be justified by our Climate, nor by the Degree of Latitude in which we are placed; I must therefore attribute it to the Haste our Ancestors had (and not without Reason) to free themselves from the Severity of Wardships.

But whether this, or any thing else, was the Cause of our earlier stepping into Man's Estate; so it is now, that according to our Laws, Twenty-one is the Age of Discretion; and the young Man is then vested with a legal, how defective soever he may be in his natural, Understanding.

With all this there ought to be a Difference made between coming out of Pupilage, and leaping into Legislatorsip.

It is prehaps inconvenient enough, that a Man should be so soon let loose to destroy his own Estate; but it is yet worse, that

he should then have a Power of giving away other Mens.

The Law must make General Rules, to which there always will be some Objections.

If there were Triers appointed to judge when Leading-strings may be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and some, perhaps, with their Grey Hairs; there being no small Number of old Boys in all Times, and especially in this.

It is necessary, therefore, to make Exceptions to this General Rule, where the Case so much requireth it, as it doth in the Matter in Question.

The Ground of sending these *Minors* to Parliament ought not to recommend the Continuance of those who are Lovers of Liberty; since it was by Authority and the Influence of great Men, that their stripling Sons were first received by the humble depending Boroughs, or the complying Counties.

They called it, as many do still, the best School for young Men. Now Experience

perience hath shew'd us, that it is like a School only in this Respect, That these Youngsters, when they are admitted, deserve to be whipp'd in it.

If the House of Commons is a School, it must be for Men of riper Age: These are too young to learn there, and being elevated by a mistaken Smattering in small Politics, they grow too supercilious to learn any where else; so that instead of improving young promising Plants, they are destroy'd by being misplac'd.

If then they do themselves Hurt by it, it is surer that they do the House no good by coming into it.

They were not Green Geese that are said to have sav'd the Capitol; they were certainly of full Age, or else their Cackling could not have been heard, so as to give Warning.

Indeed it look'd of late, when the Fashion was to have long continu'd Parliaments, as if we might plant a Boy in the House, with a Prospect that he might continue

since there till he had Gray Hairs; and that the same Sapling might have such a Root, as that he might grow up to be Timber without being removed.

If these young Men had Skill enough to pitch upon some-body in the House, to whom they might resign their Opinion, and upon whose Judgment they might lean without Reserve, there might be less Objection.

But to speak Truth, they know as little how to chuse, as those did who elected them; so that there is no other Expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may say, generally speaking, That a young Man being too soon qualify'd for the serious Business of Parliaments, would really be no good Symptom.

It is a Sign of too much Phlegm, and too little Fire in the Beginning of Age, if Men have not a little more Heat than is convenient; for as they grow older, they will

will run a Hazard of not having so much
as is necessary.

The Truth is, the Vigor of Youth is softened and misapplied, when it is not spent either in War or close Studies ; all other Courses have an idle Mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like Trees, which for want of pruning run up to Wood, and seldom or never bear any Fruit.

To conclude this Head, it must be owned, that there is an Age of our Life which doth not carry Arguments along with it to humble us; and therefore it would be well for the Business of the World, if young Men would stay longer before they went into it, and old Men not so long before they went out of it.

X. Next to these may be ranked a Sort of superfine Gentlemen, Carpet-Knights, Men whose Heads may be said to be only Appurtenances to their Perukes, which in-
E tially

tirely ingross all their Care and Application.

Their Understanding is so strictly appropriated to their Dress, that no Part of it is, upon Pain of their utmost Displeasure, to be diverted to any other Use.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected Clown, or to make it a necessary Qualification for a Member of Parliament, that he must renounce clean Linnen or good Manners; but surely a too earnest Application to make every thing sit right about them, striketh too deep into their small Stock of Thoughts to allow it Furniture for any thing else.

To do right to these fine-spun Gentlemen, Business is too coarse a Thing for them, which maketh it an unreasonable Hardship upon them to oppress them with it; so that in Tendernefs to them, no less than out of Care to the Public, it is best to leave them to their Taylors, with whom they will live in much better Correspondence,
when

when the Danger is prevented of their falling out about Privileges.

XI. Men of Injustice and Violence in their private Dealings are not to be trusted by the People with a Commission to treat for them in Parliament.

In the 4th of *Edward III.* the King commandeth in his Writs not to chuse any Knights who had been guilty of Crime, or Maintenance.

These warm Men seldom fail to run into Maintenance, taken in a large Extent.

It is an unnatural Sound to come from a Man that is arbitrary in his Neighbourhood, to talk of Laws and Liberties at *Westminster*; he is not a proper Vehicle for such Words, which ought never to be prophaned.

An habitual Breaker of the Laws, to be made one of the Law-makers, is as if the

Benches in *Westminster-hall* should be filled with Men out of *Newgate*.

Those who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of Respect to their Country.

Quite contrary; they will less scruple to do Wrong to a Nation where no Body taketh it to himself, than to particular Men, to whose Resentments they are more immediately exposed.

In short, they lie under such strong Objections, that the over-balance of better Men cannot altogether purify an Assembly where these unclean Beasts are admitted.

XII. Excessive Spenders and unreasonable Savers are to be excluded, being both greedy from differing Causes.

They are both of them Diseases of Infection, and for that Reason are not to be admitted into public Assemblies.

A prodigal Man must be greedy, because he thinketh he can never spend enough.

The Wretch must be so, because he will never think he can hoard enough.

The World first admireth Men's Wisdom for getting Money, and then railleth at them if they do not throw it away. So that the prodigal Man is only the less unpopular Extreme ; he is every jot as well prepared as the Miser to fall out with his Morals, when once a good Temptation is offered him to lay them aside.

On the other side, some rich Men are as eager to overtake those that are richer, as a Running-horse is to get to the Race-post before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often desire to heap, rather because others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they covet with so much Impatience.

So

So that it is plain the Fancy had as great a Share in this imaginary Pleasure of gathering; as it hath in Love, Ambition, or any other Passion.

It is pretty sure, that as no Man was ever the richer for having a good Estate, if he did not look after it, so neither will he be the honestest if he hath never so much.

Want of Care will always create want of Money; so that whether a Man is a Beggar because he never had any Money, or because he can never keep any, it is all one to those who are to trust him.

Upon this Head of Prodigality it may be no unreasonable Caution to be afraid of those who in former Service have been extravagantly liberal of the public Money.

Trusting is so hazardous a Thing, that it should never be done but where it is necessary; so that when Trustees are found upon Trial to be very lavish, even without

ex-

examining into the Causes of it (which are generally very suspicious) it is a reasonable Part of preventing Wit to change Hands, or else the Chusers will pay the Penalty that belongeth to Good-nature so misplaced, and the Consequences that will be attended with the Aggravation of their not being made wiser by such a severe and costly Warning.

XIII. It would be of very great Use to take a general Resolution throughout the Kingdom, that none should be chosen for a County but such as have either in Possession, or Reversion, a considerable Estate in it; nor for a Borough, except he be Resiant, or that he hath some Estate in the County, in Present or Expectancy.

There have been eminent Men of Law who were of Opinion, that in the Case of a Burgeſſ of a Town not Resiant, the Court is to give Judgment according to the Statute, notwithstanding Custom to the contrary.

But

But not to insist now upon that, the prudential Part is Argument enough to set up a Rule to abrogate an ill Custom.

There is not perhaps a greater Cause of the Corruption of Parliaments, than by adopting Members who may be said to have no Title by their Births.

The Juries are by the Law to be *ex vicineto* ; and shall there be less Care that the Representatives of the People be so too ?

Sure the Interest of the County is best placed in the Hands of such as have some Share in it.

The Outliers are not so easily kept within the Pale of the Laws.

They are often chosen without being known, which is more like chusing Valentines, than Members of Parliament. The Motive of their standing is more justly to be supposed that they may redress their

their own Grievances, which they know, than those of the Country, to which they are Strangers.

They are chosen at *London* to serve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties, before they come to be Representatives: One would think the Reproach it is for a County not to have Men within their own Circle to serve them in Parliament, should be Argument enough to reject these Trespasgers, without urging the ill Consequences in other Respects of their being admitted.

XIV. As in some Cases it is advisable to give a total Exclusion to Men not fitly qualified; so in others it is more proper to lay down a general Rule of Caution, with Allowance of some Exceptions, where Men have given such Proof of themselves, as create a Right for them to be distinguished.

Of this Nature is that which I shall say concerning Lawyers, who, by the same Reason that they may be useful, may be also very dangerous.

The Negligence and Want of Application in Gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more necessary than naturally they are in Parliament.

They have not only ingrossed the Chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a Man of the Robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more serious Reflexion of all Gentlemen, that it may be an Argument to them to qualify themselves in Parliamentary Learning, in such a Manner as that they may rely upon their own Abilities, in order to the serving their Country.

But to come to the Point in Question, it is not without Precedent, that practising Lawyers have been excluded from serving in Parliament; and without following those Patterns strictly, I cannot but think it reasonable, that whilst a Parliament sitteth, no Member of Parliament should plead at any Bar.

The Reason of it is in many Respects strong in itself, and is grown much stronger since Parliaments have become septennial of late; but I will not dwell upon this; The Matter now in Question being concerning Lawyers being elected, which I conceive should be done with so much Circumspection, that probably it would not often happen.

If Lawyers have great Practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great Sign of their Ability; and at the same time giveth a Suspicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it should be so in Fact, that no King ever wanted Judges to soften the Stiffness of the Laws that were made, so as to make them suit better with the Reasons of State, and the Convenience of the Government; it is no Injury now to suppose it possible for Lawyers in the H— of C—, so to behave themselves in the making of new Laws, as the better to make way for the having their Robes lined with Fur.

They are Men used to argue on both Sides of a Question; and if ordinary Fees can inspire them with very good Reasons in a very ill Cause, that Faculty exercised in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to those that chuse them.

And therefore, without arrainging a Profession, that it would be scandalous for a Man not to honour; one may, by a Suspicion, which is the more excusable when it is in the Behalf of the People, imagine that the Habit of taking Money for their Opinion, may create in some such a Forgetfulness to distinguish, that they may take it for their Vote.

They are generally Men who by a laborious Study hope to be advanced: They have it in their Eye as a Reward for the Toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very slow, and ill-disposed (let the Occasion never so much require it) to wrestle with that Soil where Preferment groweth.

Now

Now if the Supposition be in itself not unreasonable, and that it should happen to be strengthened and confirmed by Experience, it will be very unnecessary to say any more upon this Article, but leave it to the Electors to consider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat against Men tied to a Party.

There must in every Body be a Leaning to that Sort of Men who profess some Principles, more than to others who go upon a different Foundation; but when a Man is drowned in a Party, plunged in it beyond his Depth, he runneth a great Hazard of being upon ill Terms with good Sense, or Morality, if not with both of them.

Such a Man can hardly be called a Free Agent, and for that Reason is very unfit to be trusted with the People's Liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It

It is said, that in some Part of the *Indies* they do so affect little Feet, that they keep them squeezed while they are Children, so that they stay at that small Size after they are grown Men.

One may say something like this of Men locked up in a Party; they put their Thoughts into such a narrow Mould; that they can never be enlarged nor released from their first Confinements.

Men in a Party have *Liberty* only for their *Motto*; in reality they are greater Slaves than any Body else would care to make them.

A Party, even in Times of Peace sets up and continues the Exercise of martial Law: Once enrolled, the Man that quitteth, if they had their Will, would be hanged for a Deserter.

They communicate Anger to one another by Contagion: And it may be said, that

that if too much Light dazzleth the Eye-sight, too much Heat doth not less weaken the Judgment.

Heat reigneth in the Fancy ; and Reason, which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, taketh more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The Heat of a Party is like the Burning of a Fever ; and not a natural Warmth, evenly distributed to give Life and Vigor.

There was a Time indeed when Anger shewed a good Sign of Honesty ; but that Evidence is very much weakened by Instances we have seen since the Days of Yore : And the public-spirited Choler hath been thrown off within Time of Memory, and lost almost all its Credit with some People, since they found what Governments thought fit to make their so doing a Step to their Preferment.

A strong blustering Wind seldom continues long in one Corner.

Some

that it too much I might dazzle the Eye
 - Some Men knock loud only to be let in;
 the Bustle they make is animated by their
 private Interest. The outward Blaze only
 is for Religion and Liberty: The true last-
 ing Fire, like that of the Vestals which ne-
 ver went out, is an Eagerness to get some-
 what for themselves.

A House of Commons composed of such
 Men, would be more properly so many
 Merchants incorporated in a regular Com-
 pany, to make their particular Adventures,
 than Men sent from the People to serve and
 represent them.

XVI. With all due Regard to the
 noblest of Callings, Military Officers are
 out of their true Element when they are
 misplaced in a House of Commons.

Things in this World ought to be well-
 suited. There are some Appearances so
 unnatural, that Men are convinced by them
 without any other Argument.

The very Habit in some Cases recom-
 mendeth, or giveth Offence.

If

If the Judges upon the Bench should, instead of their Furs, which signify Gravity, and bespeak Respect, be cloathed like the Jockeys at *New Market*, they would not in Reality have less Law, but Mankind would be so struck with this unusual Object, that it would be a great while before they could think it possible to receive Justice from Men so accouter'd.

It is to some Degree the same Thing in this Case; such martial Habits make them look very unlike grave Senators. One would almost swear they were Creatures apart, and of a different Species from the rest of the Body.

In former Times, when only the Re-
sistant Shopkeeper was to represent his Corporation, the military Looks of one of these Sons of *Mars* would have stared the quaking Member down again to his Borough.

Now the Number of them is so increased, that the peaceable Part of the House may lawfully swear they are in fear of their
G Lives,

Lives, from such an awful Appearance of Men of War.

It maketh the Room look like a Guard-house by such an ill-suited Mixture. But this is only the Out-side, the Bark of the Argument, the Root goeth yet deeper against choosing such Men whose Talents ought to be otherwise applied.

Their two Capacities are so inconsistent, that Mens undertaking to serve both the Cures, will be the Cause in a little Time, that we shall neither have Men of War, nor Men of Business, good in their several Kinds.

An Officer is to give up his Liberty to obey Orders, and it is necessarily incident to his Calling that he should do so.

A Member of Parliament is originally to be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better trust him with theirs.

An Officer is to enable himself by his Courage, improved by Skill and Experience, to support the Laws, if invaded,
when

when they are made; but he is not supposed to be at Leisure enough to understand how they should be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his Thoughts with what may best conduce to the Civil Administration; which is enough to take up the whole Man, let him be never so much raised above the ordinary Level.

These two opposite Qualifications, being placed in one Man, make him such an ambiguous divided Creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is best to keep Men within their proper Sphere; few Men have Understanding enough exactly to fill even one narrow Circle, fewer are able to fill two; especially when they are both of so great Compass, and that they are so contrary in their own Natures.

The Wages he hath as a Member, and those he receiveth as an Officer, are paid for Services that are very differing; and in the Doubt which of them should be preferably performed, it is likely the greater Sa-

lary may direct him, without the further Inducements of complying most, where he may expect most Advantage by it.

In short, if his Dependance is not very great, it will make him a scurvy Officer; if it is great, it will make him a scurvier Member.

XVIII. Men under the Scandal of being thought private Pensioners, are too far a Mark to escape being considered in reference to the Point in Question.

In case of plain Evidence, it is not to be supposed possible, that Men convicted of such a Crime should ever again be elected.

The Difficulty is in determining what is to be done in case of Suspicion.

There are Suspicions so well grounded, that they may pretend to have the Force of Proofs, provided the Penalty goeth only to the forbearing to trust, but not extending it so far as to punish.

There

There must be some Things plain and exprefs to justify the latter, but Circumstances may be sufficient for the former: As where Men have had such sudden Cures of their ill Humours, and Opposition to the Court, that it is out of the way of ordinary Methods of Recovery from such Distempers, which have a much slower Progress; it must naturally be imputed to some Specific that maketh such a quick Alteration of the whole Mass of Blood.

Where Men have raised their Way of Living, without any visible Means to support them in it, a Suspicion is justified even by the Example of the Law, which in Cases of this Kind, tho' of an inferior Nature, doth upon this Foundation not only raise Inferences, but inflict Punishments.

Where Men are immoral and scandalous in their Lives, and dispense familiarly with the Rules by which the World is governed, for the better preserving the Bonds of Human Society, it must be a Confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impossible

possible for such Men to yield to a Temptation well offered and pursued, when, the Truth is, the Habit of such *Bons vivants*, which is the fashionable Word, maketh a Suspicion so likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there should be nothing but the general Report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common Fame is the only Liar that deserveth to have some Respect still reserved to it; Who' she telleth many an Untruth, she often hits right, and most especially when she speaketh ill of Men.

Her Credit hath sometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the divesting Men of any thing of which they were possessed, without more expresse Evidence to justify such a Proceeding.

If there was a Doubt whether there ever was any Corruption of this Kind, it would alter the Question; but sure that will not bear the being controverted.

We

We are told that *Charles* the Fifth sent over into *England* 1200000 Crowns to be distributed amongst the Leading Men, to encourage them to carry on Elections.

Here was the Protestant Religion to be bought for a valuable Consideration according to Law, though not according to Gospel, which exalteth it above any Price that can be set upon it.

Now, except we had Reason to believe that the Virtue of the World is improved since that Time, we can as little doubt that such Temptations may be offered, as that they may be received.

It will be owned, that there is to be a great Tendernefs in suspecting ; but it must be allowed at the same time, that there ought not to be less in trusting, where the People are so much concerned ; especially when the Penalty upon the Party suspected goeth no further than a Suspension of that Confidence, which it is necessary to have

have in those who are to represent the Nation in Parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a Caution against admitting Men to be chosen who have Places of any Value.

There needeth the less to be said upon this Article, the Truth of the Proposition being supported by such plain Arguments.

Sure no Man hath such a plentiful Spring of Thought, as that all that floweth from it, is too much to be applied to the Business of Parliament.

It is not less sure, that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the Rule, that no Man should serve two Masters.

It doth so split a Man's Thoughts, that no Man can know how to make a fitting Distribution of them to two such differing Capacities.

It

It exposeth Men to be suspected and tempted, more than is convenient for the Public Service, or for the mutual good Opinion of one another, which there ought to be in such an Assembly.

It either giveth a real Dependance upon the G——t, which is inconsistent with the Necessity there is, that a Member of Parliament should be disengaged ; or at least it hath the Appearance of it, which maketh them not look like Freemen, tho' they should have Virtue enough to be so.

After having told my Opinion, who ought *not* to be chosen ; if I should be ask'd, Who ought ? my Answer must be, Chuse *Englishmen* ; and when I have said that, to deal honestly, I will not undertake that they are easy to be found.

F I N I S.

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It expects Men to be subjected and
tempted, more than is convenient for the
Public Service, or for the mutual good
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masks them not look like Freemen, tho'
they should have Virtue enough to be so.

After having told my Opinion, who
ought not to be chosen; if I should be
asked, Who ought? my Answer must
be, Charles Bagshaw; and when I have
said that, to deal honestly, I will not un-
dertake that they are easy to be found.

F I W I S